

IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT  
NORTHERN DISTRICT OF ILLINOIS  
EASTERN DIVISION

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, ) Docket No. 14 CR 390  
)  
Plaintiff, )  
)  
vs. )  
)  
KEVIN JOHNSON AND TYLER LANG, ) Chicago, Illinois  
) February 19, 2015  
Defendants.) 10:00 o'clock a.m.

TRANSCRIPT OF PROCEEDINGS - ORAL ARGUMENT  
BEFORE THE HONORABLE AMY J. ST. EVE

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10 PROCEEDINGS RECORDED BY  
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1 THE CLERK: 14 CR 390, United States vs. Kevin  
2 Johnson and Tyler Lang.

3 THE COURT: Good morning.

4 MS. BIESENTHAL: Good morning, your Honor, Bethany  
5 Biesenthal and Bill Ridgway for the United States.

6 MR. MEYER: Good morning, Judge, Geoffrey Meyer from  
7 the Federal Defender Program on behalf of Mr. Lang.

8 MR. DEUTSCH: Good morning, Judge, Michael Deutsch  
9 and Lillian McCartin on behalf of Kevin Johnson, who is  
10 present in open court.

11 I also want to introduce Rachel Meeropol, who is the  
12 senior staff attorney for Center For Constitutional Rights.  
13 And she'll be arguing on behalf of both defendants on the  
14 motion.

15 THE COURT: Good morning.

16 MS. MEEROPOL: Good morning, your Honor.

17 MR. MEYER: Judge, just so you're aware, Mr. Lang's  
18 presence was waived today. We originally had -- we were going  
19 to ask the Court to allow him to phone in, but that's not  
20 going to work with his work schedule.

21 THE COURT: Okay.

22 So, he is choosing not to come for purposes of today?

23 MR. MEYER: He is choosing not to come.

24 THE COURT: Okay.

25 So, you are here for oral argument on the motion to

1 dismiss.

2 Ms. Merropol, you are going to argue on behalf of  
3 both defendants; is that correct?

4 MS. MEEROPOL: That's right, your Honor.

5 THE COURT: Okay.

6 Are there any preliminaries, any issues you want to  
7 address up front before we start?

8 MS. BIESENTHAL: No.

9 THE COURT: Ms. Biesenthal, are you arguing for the  
10 government?

11 MS. BIESENTHAL: I am.

12 THE COURT: Okay.

13 MR. DEUTSCH: Can we be seated?

14 THE COURT: Everyone else may be seated, yes.  
15 Whenever you are ready.

16 Ms. Biesenthal, you can sit if you want until it is  
17 your turn, or you can stand. Whatever your preference.

18 MS. BIESENTHAL: I'll sit, Judge. Thank you.

19 MS. MEEROPOL: Thank you, your Honor.

20 Before I begin, I'd like to request the opportunity  
21 for rebuttal.

22 THE COURT: Certainly.

23 MS. MEEROPOL: Thank you.

24 THE COURT: Certainly.

25 I know you were not here at the status last week, but

1 I did not set time limits. We will take whatever we need.

2 It would be helpful to address the issues in the  
3 order that you presented them in your brief, if you would,  
4 please.

5 MS. MEEROPOL: Absolutely, your Honor.

6 This is a facial challenge of first impression to  
7 Section (a)(2)(A) of the Animal Enterprise Terrorism Act, and  
8 we have three constitutional claims. First, that the law is  
9 overbroad because it covers a substantial amount of protected  
10 speech and advocacy --

11 THE COURT: That one is not really a first  
12 impression, is it, though, because didn't Blum -- and I know  
13 you were on that case -- didn't Blum address that, although in  
14 a different procedural context?

15 MS. MEEROPOL: Well, Blum was a standing decision,  
16 your Honor, and the Court did engage in some statutory  
17 interpretation; but, the question before the Court was whether  
18 the plaintiffs in that case had a credible fear of enforcement  
19 under the statute, which requires a certain amount of  
20 statutory interpretation.

21 But the Blum court didn't actually interpret the  
22 meaning of (a)(2)(A)'s provision. Instead, the court relied  
23 entirely on the savings clause.

24 For an overbreadth challenge, the proper first step  
25 of the analysis is to interpret what the statute itself

1 covers. And that requires the Court to initially look at the  
2 operative provision itself, (a)(2)(A) of the Animal Enterprise  
3 Terrorism Act, which prohibits damaging or causing the loss of  
4 any real or personal property, including animals or records,  
5 used by an animal enterprise.

6 Now, there's really no dispute in this case that the  
7 plain language of any personal property includes intangible  
8 property. We cited the dictionary definition, various torts  
9 and contracts cases that interpret property as including  
10 intangible property, and also provided examples of the  
11 instances in which Congress specifies tangible personal  
12 property.

13 THE COURT: And you are only challenging that  
14 particular section, correct?

15 MS. MEEROPOL: That's right.

16 THE COURT: I know there was, in the response, a  
17 standing challenge as to anything else. But it seemed to me  
18 it was clear you were only challenging that particular section  
19 that your client has been charged with.

20 MS. MEEROPOL: That's right. (A)(2)(A) only. Not  
21 (a)(2)(B), which was, of course, the provision at issue in the  
22 Buddenberg case.

23 So, given that there's no dispute that the plain  
24 language meaning -- the plain dictionary meaning -- of "any  
25 personal property" includes intangible property, the

1 government relies on three arguments to make their point that  
2 the Court should read "any personal property" as actually  
3 meaning only tangible property.

4           The first argument relies on the parenthetical  
5 "including animals or records." The problem with this  
6 argument is that the government has failed to cite a single  
7 case or any kind of a statutory interpretation in which a  
8 parenthetical that includes the word -- that begins with the  
9 word "including" can be used to restrict a broad statutory  
10 term. Parentheticals that begin with "including" can expand.  
11 They can emphasize. They cannot restrict the plain meaning of  
12 statutory language.

13           THE COURT: But they can also explain, can't they?

14           MS. MEEROPOL: They can. They can explain, your  
15 Honor. And --

16           THE COURT: So, they do not necessarily expand it.

17           MS. MEEROPOL: Right. They can explain. They can  
18 emphasize.

19           And in this point, it's most likely -- I read the  
20 statute -- that Congress wanted to emphasize here two types of  
21 property that they were particularly concerned about, given  
22 the nature of the Act: Animals and records. Perhaps it was  
23 also important to include animals because that might not be  
24 commonly understood as property.

25           But, your Honor, a parenthetical cannot be used to

1 restrict. There is simply no precedent for use of a  
2 parenthetical in that way, especially when the statutory  
3 provision includes the word "any," which is as broad a  
4 statutory term as Congress can use. And when Congress uses  
5 the term "any," the courts have interpreted it to have its  
6 plain meaning -- anything that falls into that category.

7           The government also relies on the fact that the  
8 provision states that the property is used by an animal  
9 enterprise. But animal enterprises use money and their  
10 business reputation in the same way that they use tangible  
11 property. That word can't transform an incredibly expansive  
12 statutory term -- "any personal property" -- into a limited  
13 restriction on causing damage to tangible personal property.

14           The government's second argument is that the  
15 interaction of the penalty provision and the substantive  
16 provision transform the broad statutory language. And here,  
17 they're referring to the way in which the penalty provision  
18 bases penalty on the amount of economic damages that occur.

19           But, you know, I think this is really based on --

20           THE COURT: It is something a little bit different  
21 than that, isn't it? Isn't it that under statutory rules of  
22 construction not that they base the penalties on economic  
23 damage, but that they use the words specifically "economic  
24 damage" when they mean economic damage and they use it in the  
25 same statute, which is a little bit different than what you



1 are saying?

2 MS. MEEROPOL: Yes, your Honor. So, they do use the  
3 word "economic damages." But it's as a noun. It's as a  
4 measure of the damage that occurs when there's a substantive  
5 violation. The way the phrase "damage" is used in the  
6 substantive provision is completely different.

7 And it's a very confusing proposition because of the  
8 way that "damage" functions as both a noun and a verb. And  
9 many of these cases sort of, you know, conflate the two --  
10 many of the contracts torts cases. It's hard to parse them to  
11 understand whether the court is analyzing economic damage that  
12 has occurred as a result of a substantive violation or whether  
13 the damage is itself the substantive violation.

14 But given that (a) (2) (A) includes not just the term  
15 "damage," but "caused the loss of property" -- right? -- it's  
16 two different ways in which a substantive violation can occur.  
17 And "caused the loss of property" is logically read to connect  
18 to causing the loss of intangible property, causing the loss  
19 of money.

20 So, given that there's no parallel wording that the  
21 Court could actually compare here -- and one could imagine the  
22 statute being written differently, right? One could imagine  
23 that the statute prohibits causing economic damage to an  
24 animal enterprise or causing damage to an animal enterprise.

25 If that were the case, then I think the government

1 would have a stronger argument. But because the provision is  
2 written so broadly and the operative term to interpret here is  
3 really the "any personal property" term, not the "damage"  
4 term, their argument cannot defeat the plain meaning of the  
5 broad provision.

6 Finally, your Honor, in terms of the overbreadth  
7 analysis, the government points to the rules of construction,  
8 which state that the AETA should not be interpreted to  
9 prohibit First Amendment protected activities, especially  
10 expressive conduct like peaceful protesting and demonstration.

11 The most important point about this is to recognize  
12 that the Court must interpret the statutory provision first.  
13 Right? This overbreadth analysis requires the Court to decide  
14 whether that provision -- whether (a) (2) (A) -- does allow for  
15 the punishment of First Amendment protected activity that  
16 causes a business to lose profit.

17 THE COURT: But can the Court really interpret that  
18 without looking at the rules of construction?

19 MS. MEEROPOL: Well --

20 THE COURT: And what are you relying on to say that  
21 the Court has to look at the statutory language itself  
22 separate and apart from the rules of construction? Because  
23 that certainly does not seem like the congressional intent  
24 here when you look at the underlying legislative history.

25 MS. MEEROPOL: Well, what precedent tells us -- and

1 it's just these cases perhaps the most commonly cited on this  
2 issue; Humanitarian Law Project also sort of provides an  
3 example of how it works in practice -- is that certainly a  
4 rule of construction can serve to illuminate congressional  
5 intent not to violate the First Amendment.

6           So, if there are two competing valid interpretations  
7 of a statute, the savings clause, congressional intent can  
8 sort of push the Court to one way or the other. But there has  
9 to be two competing valid interpretations. Otherwise, what  
10 you have is a situation where one provision of the statute by  
11 its terms prohibits protected conduct and another provision  
12 says it doesn't. And that's a contradiction in the terms of  
13 the statute, which is not adequately protective of First  
14 Amendment rights because individuals can't have to guess which  
15 provision will be enforced.

16           If the Court doesn't first interpret what (a)(2)(A)  
17 prohibits, then we're in a situation where that provision  
18 could be completely invalid on its face, as we argue, and the  
19 savings clause has actually saved an otherwise invalid statute  
20 when it's quite clear all the precedent -- and the government  
21 acknowledges this -- is that a savings clause cannot save a  
22 statute that is otherwise invalid on its face.

23           THE COURT: So, would you agree, then, that if the  
24 statute itself is open to more than one interpretation, one of  
25 them not violating the Constitution, that the savings clause

1 here would save it?

2 MS. MEEROPOL: If it's legitimately open to more than  
3 one interpretation, yes, your Honor. That is the time in  
4 which a savings clause would operate.

5 But this statute simply is not legitimately open to  
6 more than one interpretation. The two -- the only two --  
7 arguments that the government has to defeat the plain meaning  
8 of "any personal property," which they have not disputed, is  
9 the parenthetical -- which has never been used; they don't  
10 cite a single case where a parenthetical restricts -- and the  
11 interaction with economic damages, which would rely on a  
12 completely different sort of phrase, a different part of  
13 speech even, to try to limit an otherwise very broad  
14 provision.

15 THE COURT: What role should the very clear directive  
16 from the legislative history play in interpreting the statute  
17 here?

18 MS. MEEROPOL: Well, your Honor --

19 THE COURT: Because I think even you would agree that  
20 the legislative history has a very clear directive that this  
21 does not apply to First Amendment activity.

22 MS. MEEROPOL: The problem is, your Honor, if we can  
23 just take congressional intent not to violate the First  
24 Amendment as a means to interpret every statute not to do  
25 that, then that is the end of overbreadth challenges. That

1 means Congress can include in every statute, "We don't intend  
2 to violate the First Amendment." And I'm sure Congress didn't  
3 intend to violate the First Amendment here.

4 THE COURT: And I am not asking for something that  
5 broad. I am talking very particular about this statute here  
6 and the Court's construing the statute here in light of the  
7 legislative history here and the very clear intent of  
8 Congress.

9 MS. MEEROPOL: Well, your Honor, I think that clear  
10 intent has to be balanced against the purpose of the  
11 overbreadth doctrine in itself, and that's to protect the  
12 First Amendment rights of not only criminal defendants, but  
13 individuals who are not in front of the Court whose speech  
14 will be chilled by an overly broad statute, regardless of  
15 whether Congress intended that speech to be chilled or not.

16 You know, this is a situation where this law is known  
17 about. This law has an impact in the animal rights community  
18 that is broader than just the parties before this Court. And  
19 whether or not Congress intended that impact, Congress has to  
20 be incentivized to pass laws that are narrow and proper on  
21 their terms, not simply saving them by indicating their intent  
22 not to violate the First Amendment.

23 THE COURT: Are you aware of any cases where the  
24 savings clause specifically references the First Amendment or  
25 some other constitutional provision or specific examples of

1 protected conduct like the one does here --

2 MS. MEEROPOL: Uh-huh.

3 THE COURT: -- where a court has gone on to say that  
4 the statute is nonetheless unconstitutional with a very  
5 specific savings clause like that?

6 I know you cited some cases in your brief, but none  
7 of the savings clauses in those particular cases had a  
8 specific reference to a specific constitutional provision or  
9 specific conduct like the one does here.

10 MS. MEEROPOL: Your Honor, I'm going to have to look  
11 back at the briefing. And I will do that after I sit down and  
12 try to bring you -- I do have a case in mind, but the name is  
13 escaping me at the moment.

14 But I do believe that one of the out-of-district  
15 cases that involved restrictions on a parade permit actually  
16 included -- and the name is just escaping me.

17 THE COURT: Okay. That is fine.

18 MS. MEEROPOL: But I will bring it to you.

19 THE COURT: That is fine.

20 MS. MEEROPOL: But the law is clear, your Honor --  
21 and the government acknowledges -- that if the provision -- if  
22 the statute is facially invalid, if the statute as is fairly  
23 read infringes on First Amendment protected activity, then the  
24 savings clause cannot save the statute. And the Humanitarian  
25 Law Project, there was also a savings clause. And the Supreme

1 Court acknowledged that, but it went on to interpret the  
2 statutory provisions, not rely on that savings clause.

3 Unless the Court has other questions about the  
4 overbreadth claim, I'll turn to our vagueness claim next.

5 THE COURT: Go ahead and turn to the vagueness,  
6 please.

7 MS. MEEROPOL: Thank you.

8 So, of course, this is a claim that (a)(2)(A) of the  
9 Animal Enterprise Terrorism Act is unconstitutionally vague  
10 because it is so broad as to federalize almost any property  
11 crime against almost any business. And this invites, and, in  
12 fact, has resulted in, arbitrary and discriminatory  
13 enforcement.

14 THE COURT: And your argument here, just so the  
15 record is clear, does seem to be focused on the discriminatory  
16 enforcement prong of the vagueness doctrine, not the other  
17 one; is that fair?

18 MS. MEEROPOL: Not the notice --

19 THE COURT: Not the notice.

20 MS. MEEROPOL: -- prong.

21 Yes, that's correct, your Honor.

22 And just as an example, you know, if an individual is  
23 robbing a corner grocery store, right, and he's on a cell  
24 phone with his friend who is standing outside serving as a  
25 lookout, that is a violation of (a)(2)(A). This type of crime

1 occurs every day hundreds of times across the country. These  
2 crimes, of course, would be very unlikely to be prosecuted as  
3 Animal Enterprise Terrorism Act violations, and yet they fit  
4 the statutory description.

5           Given that, that's the situation, just like  
6 Papachristou, where the government has cast such a wide net  
7 that they can pick and choose with unfettered discretion which  
8 types of crimes to make federal crimes rather than allow them  
9 to be punished under state law, where one would normally  
10 expect that property crimes of that nature would be punished.

11           So, really, the government's argument here is that,  
12 you know, we haven't identified particular vague terms. But a  
13 term can be so broad as to fail to cabin police and  
14 prosecutorial discretion, just as it can be too vague to do  
15 so. The term "animal enterprise" here is so broad that it  
16 allows for this law to be used incredibly expansively; and,  
17 yet, of course, we see it used only against one group: A  
18 politically unpopular group, animal rights activists.

19           Moving on from the vagueness claim, your Honor --

20           THE COURT: Before you go on, why doesn't the other  
21 language in the statute that is more specific defeat your  
22 vagueness argument?

23           Let's assume "animal enterprise" is broad.

24           MS. MEEROPOL: Uh-huh.

25           THE COURT: Why doesn't the other language --



1 "intentionally damaging or causing the loss," the more  
2 specific language -- save the statute?

3 MS. MEEROPOL: Well, I think that's --

4 THE COURT: Because the cases you have relied on have  
5 very broad kind of archaic terms.

6 MS. MEEROPOL: They do, your Honor. That's fair.

7 THE COURT: Unlike this.

8 MS. MEEROPOL: You know, I think what's incredibly  
9 unusual about the Animal Enterprise Terrorism Act is that  
10 there is no actus reus. Right? The law punishes action taken  
11 for a particular purpose, and it's a very broad purpose:  
12 Interfering with an animal enterprise or damaging it -- that  
13 could be anything, really -- and, then, having a certain  
14 effect.

15 But the law does not include what the actual conduct  
16 at issue that is criminalized. That means that any conduct or  
17 speech can have the given effect and can be undertaken for the  
18 particular purpose.

19 So, actually, (a)(2)(A) doesn't really cabin the  
20 reach of the Animal Enterprise Terrorism Act at all. It  
21 broadens it. And it's really the interaction of those two  
22 provisions -- the lack of an actus reus, which is unusual in a  
23 criminal law, and the fact that "animal enterprise" is defined  
24 so incredibly broadly -- that gives rise to the  
25 unconstitutional vagueness here, your Honor.

1 THE COURT: Okay.

2 MS. MEEROPOL: Now, the Court had asked us to  
3 address, with respect to the substantive due process claim,  
4 the question of why -- whether it's rational for the  
5 government to call this Act animal enterprise terrorism. This  
6 requires a two-step analysis. First we have to hypothesize  
7 the possible reasons that Congress named the Act "Animal  
8 Enterprise Terrorism" and then determine whether those reasons  
9 are rationally related to a legitimate government purpose.

10 So, I can imagine two reasons here. The first and  
11 the most obvious is that Congress may have named the Act  
12 "Animal Enterprise Terrorism" if it describes conduct that can  
13 fairly be characterized as terrorism. But terrorism is about  
14 violence or a threat of violence or a risk of danger to human  
15 life. There's no one federal definition of terrorism, but  
16 there is a consensus among all of the federal definitions, and  
17 international law, as well, that terrorism includes as  
18 elements violence, threat of violence, as well as the  
19 motivation of coercing government cooperation or civilian  
20 cooperation.

21 None of those elements appear in (a)(2)(A). It's a  
22 provision that is quite clearly about causing loss of  
23 property. There -- and if we look at sort of the history of  
24 enforcement of that provision, it has primarily been enforced  
25 against individuals like these defendants who are accused of

1 releasing animals. There's no reason to expect that, you  
2 know, anything but a minute fraction of the covered crimes  
3 could properly be characterized as terrorism.

4 And I think People v. Knox, which is the New York sex  
5 offender mislabeling case, really exemplifies the way in  
6 which, you know, a fraction of charged criminal conduct might  
7 not fit a given label. And that doesn't make the label  
8 irrational necessarily, although some courts have found the  
9 other way. But you can imagine a situation in which there is  
10 a reason to call a broad class of crimes something that might  
11 not actually apply to some small percentage of those crimes.

12 In that case, it was about -- it was because of the  
13 particular vulnerability of the population and the fact that a  
14 sexual component and kidnapping, for example, is frequently  
15 hard to prove.

16 THE COURT: Isn't People vs. Knox that you are  
17 relying on for that, though, really distinguishable? Because  
18 what seemed to be driving the court there was the fact that  
19 sex offenders have to do something affirmative after the  
20 conviction -- they have to go out and register as sex  
21 offenders -- which is not the case here.

22 MS. MEEROPOL: That's right, your Honor. And,  
23 certainly, there is a stronger liberty interest in a situation  
24 in which one has to register as a sex offender. One does not  
25 have to register as a terrorist if one is convicted of animal

1 enterprise terrorism. But that doesn't mean that there isn't  
2 a liberty interest here, just as there was in People v. Knox,  
3 in avoiding having a misleading and stigmatic title apply to  
4 one's criminal conduct that simply doesn't fit. You know, the  
5 word "terrorism," it has implications here.

6 THE COURT: You argued in your brief that this label  
7 could potentially prejudice jurors, but the label is never  
8 going to be presented to the jurors. The government does not  
9 have to prove terrorism as an element, as you, yourself, have  
10 noted. The government has agreed they are not going to raise  
11 it. I would grant any type of motion in limine, if we get to  
12 that point, precluding them from raising it. I am not going  
13 to instruct them on it.

14 So, terrorism -- the label "terrorism" -- does not  
15 even get to the jury.

16 MS. MEEROPOL: Well, I think your Honor is obviously  
17 capable of ensuring that the jury is not prejudiced by the  
18 label within your courtroom. But that doesn't mean that the  
19 label won't have implications outside of your courtroom.  
20 Individuals who are convicted of animal enterprise terrorism  
21 will be known as convicted terrorists. There's not only --

22 THE COURT: By who?

23 MS. MEEROPOL: By the public and the press and the  
24 Bureau of Prisons, as well.

25 So, I would say the most concrete example of how this

1 can function to actually impact an individual relates to  
2 conditions of confinement, although that's not the only way in  
3 which the word has meaning.

4 But within the Bureau of Prisons, an individual  
5 convicted of a crime related to terrorism is eligible for  
6 placement in a communication management unit. These are  
7 incredibly restrictive units which limit individuals'  
8 opportunity to communicate with the outside world much more  
9 strictly than --

10 THE COURT: What -- I'm sorry. Go ahead and finish.

11 MS. MEEROPOL: -- than the general prison population.

12 THE COURT: What makes something related to terrorism  
13 for purposes of the BOP? Isn't it the Sentencing Guideline  
14 enhancement that defines terrorism, which is not an  
15 enhancement that is applicable here?

16 MS. MEEROPOL: No, your Honor.

17 So, the rules about CMU placement are actually the  
18 subject of litigation right now in the District of Columbia,  
19 which is my case, as well, which is why I know a bit about  
20 this.

21 THE COURT: It is very helpful.

22 MS. MEEROPOL: There's a pending procedural due  
23 process challenge. And part of that challenge is about sort  
24 of the fact that it's not really clear how the criteria  
25 applies. We do know that the counter-terrorism unit of the

1 Bureau of Prisons considers sort of individuals for placement  
2 in this unit based on a number of factors. And one of those  
3 factors is that the crime or the underlying criminal conduct  
4 relates to terrorism.

5 And that's understood pretty broadly. So, I think,  
6 you know --

7 THE COURT: Wouldn't that require an element of the  
8 crime, though, to relate to terrorism?

9 Again, we have a label here, which there is no  
10 evidence that BOP will even know that label is attached here  
11 because none of the elements relate to terrorism.

12 MS. MEEROPOL: Well, the government did acknowledge  
13 that one individual convicted of animal enterprise terrorism  
14 has served time in a CMU. And another convicted of animal  
15 enterprise terrorism, when the statute was called the Animal  
16 Enterprise Protection Act -- but even then the crime still  
17 carried the title "Animal Enterprise Terrorism"; I honestly  
18 don't know why, but that was how -- the language that was used  
19 -- also served time in a CMU.

20 So, that's two examples right there.

21 And what we know from the way that the CMU operates  
22 is that this word in there will come to the attention of the  
23 counter-terrorism unit and will at least prompt consideration.

24 Now, I'm not arguing that someone convicted of animal  
25 enterprise terrorism will automatically be placed in a CMU. I

1 don't think that's an accurate argument. But they will be  
2 considered in a way that other individuals won't. They are  
3 much more likely to end up in this unit than other  
4 individuals. And they are almost certain to have all of their  
5 communication monitored by the counter-terrorism unit of the  
6 Bureau of Prisons for the time that they are in custody.

7 That is a real-life implication.

8 THE COURT: Do you have any evidence of that?

9 MS. MEEROPOL: Well, we know that the counter -- it  
10 is publicly available information that the counter-terrorism  
11 unit's primary responsibility within the Bureau of Prisons --  
12 I think this is something that the Court can take judicial  
13 notice of -- is to monitor terrorist prisoners inside the  
14 Bureau of Prisons. So, the word "terrorism," it's just -- it  
15 defies belief that an individual convicted of terrorism is  
16 going to escape attention by the counter-terrorism unit.

17 Moreover, your Honor, the precedent instructs us that  
18 one doesn't have to have a particularly significant liberty  
19 interest to still be deserving of rational basis review here.  
20 The Seventh Circuit has recognized liberty interests like the  
21 right to have a mustache or to groom one's hair the way one  
22 wants or the right of an undercover -- of an off-duty police  
23 officer to offer a motorcycle ride to a young woman. These  
24 are non-fundamental liberty interests.

25 And yet, even when the liberty interest is not

1 particularly fundamental -- and I would argue there's a strong  
2 liberty interest here because of the stigma attached to the  
3 word "terrorism." But even when there's a very minimal  
4 liberty interest --

5 THE COURT: But that is not necessarily what would  
6 define a liberty interest, is it?

7 MS. MEEROPOL: I'm not sure I understand the  
8 question.

9 THE COURT: I think you need to define what the  
10 interest is and the implications from the interest, rather  
11 than -- so there is a label attached, but what are the  
12 implications of that to define what the liberty interest is?

13 MS. MEEROPOL: That's right. The liberty interest is  
14 in not having a misleading label attached to one's crime. And  
15 the implication of that liberty interest in a case where the  
16 label is terrorism is, you know, not only the possibility of  
17 different treatment within the Bureau of Prisons, but also the  
18 stigmatic effect of being convicted of terrorism and having to  
19 potentially disclose that conviction to people in your  
20 community, to potential employers, having the press report on  
21 it as a terrorism conviction, as they have in past cases.

22 So, given that the Seventh Circuit has recognized the  
23 necessity of conducting rational basis review for even  
24 extremely minimal liberty interests, you know, the interests  
25 of not having a misleading label attached to one's crime



1 surely at least requires rational basis review.

2 Now, rational basis review is incredibly deferential,  
3 and that brings us back to where we started where I was  
4 addressing your Honor's question about what could the  
5 government's rationale be here. And I had gotten through one,  
6 but I do want to get back to the other one -- the other  
7 possibility, which the government raises in their briefs,  
8 which is that it's rational to call this animal enterprise  
9 terrorism because of some violence and violent rhetoric by  
10 some animal rights activists.

11 And this is really an argument that because there is  
12 a small fraction of criminal conduct that could properly be  
13 characterized as terrorism, it is rational to call all  
14 conduct -- all criminal conduct -- against animal enterprises  
15 terrorism, whether or not the conduct fits that description at  
16 all or not.

17 And given that (a) (2) (A) is so clearly addressed to  
18 causing the loss of property, there's simply no reason to  
19 think it's going to be anything but a tiny margin of cases.

20 THE COURT: But is it a tiny margin if you look at  
21 the legislative history? One of the representatives said that  
22 there had been some 1100 complaints involving violent  
23 incidents, involving more than 120 million in property losses.  
24 Can we characterize that as small?

25 MS. MEEROPOL: Well, there has never been a single

1 injury or death to a human being caused by an animal rights  
2 activist in this country, ever.

3           What the government really points to is rising  
4 property damage, which at times can occur in a way that is  
5 risky to human life. But that is in a -- and the government's  
6 own exhibits acknowledge, that that is in a -- very small  
7 minority of cases. And it's really -- I think the  
8 government's exhibits point more to a rise in violent rhetoric  
9 by some at the very fringe of this movement as an explanation  
10 for Congress's purpose here.

11           But one can imagine by analogy that Congress decides  
12 that, you know, okay, some murders occur in the course of a  
13 burglary, so we're going to call all burglary murder. It's  
14 probably a greater percentage than there is in this case.

15           But it's not rational because the label is so  
16 misleading. Because terrorism has a meaning that the  
17 community understands. And to call property crime terrorism  
18 because a tiny bit of the covered property crime could  
19 potentially be terrorism is so exaggerated and punitive as to  
20 simply not be reasonable.

21           THE COURT: I want to go back to your original  
22 argument about what the liberty interest is here.

23           MS. MEEROPOL: Uh-huh.

24           THE COURT: And you said it is the stigma --

25           MS. MEEROPOL: Yes.

1 THE COURT: -- of having a mislabel.

2 Have you found any cases that say that a stigma alone  
3 is enough to be a liberty interest?

4 MS. MEEROPOL: Well, this isn't a procedural due  
5 process context where a stigma-plus would be required.

6 THE COURT: Right.

7 MS. MEEROPOL: So, you know, I think People v. Knox  
8 is an example where the stigma -- well, I guess that's not  
9 fair actually because there was --

10 THE COURT: They did not find there was a rational  
11 basis?

12 MS. MEEROPOL: Yeah. There was more than just stigma  
13 there in terms of the reporting requirements.

14 But the proper comparison here is, you know, what's  
15 the stigma of having a misleading label attached to your crime  
16 compared to the other non-fundamental liberties that give rise  
17 to rational basis review.

18 And there, I think it's very important for the Court  
19 to reference the Seventh Circuit cases that we cited in our  
20 briefs that, you know, involve incredibly minimal liberty  
21 interests.

22 THE COURT: Okay.

23 MS. MEEROPOL: Unless the Court has any other  
24 questions, I will save some time for rebuttal.

25 THE COURT: I do not have any additional questions

1 for you.

2 Thank you.

3 MS. MEEROPOL: Thank you, your Honor.

4 THE COURT: Ms. Biesenthal.

5 If you would not mind, please, addressing the  
6 arguments in the same order.

7 MS. BIESENTHAL: Sure. Thank you, Judge.

8 So, starting with the defendants' argument concerning  
9 the overbreadth of the statute, I know your Honor is aware of  
10 this; but, as an initial matter, there is an almost  
11 insurmountable battle here for the defendants in having a  
12 statute invalidated based on overbreadth for First Amendment  
13 concerns. The government cited several of those cases in its  
14 brief, and I think it's not in dispute that there is a very  
15 high standard here that the defendants face.

16 THE COURT: I think the Supreme Court has said only  
17 as a last resort.

18 MS. BIESENTHAL: Only as a last resort. And, Judge,  
19 this case is certainly not a last resort.

20 What we have here is a statute in which Congress has  
21 very clearly criminalized conduct -- damaging or interfering  
22 with an animal enterprise.

23 Now, defendants have argued that the terms of the  
24 statute encompass what could be First Amendment protected  
25 activity. There's been a lot of discussion, in both the

1   briefs and then today, about the plain meaning of the words  
2   that are contained within the statute and rules of  
3   construction, as far as reading the statute. From the  
4   government's perspective, those arguments don't matter as  
5   much, but I do want to focus just on two things briefly.

6           The first is the defendants' statements repeatedly  
7   that the government has conceded that the plain meaning of  
8   "property" includes intangible property, which would include  
9   lost profits. The government has in no way conceded that the  
10   plain meaning of the word "property" must include intangible  
11   property.

12           The government does concede that that is one way to  
13   interpret the word "property," and that it has been  
14   interpreted that way in other statutes. But it's the  
15   government's position that it is also just as likely that the  
16   word "property" does not include intangibles and does not  
17   include lost profits.

18           And that is particularly true in the case like this  
19   where, if you look at the statute as a whole instead of just  
20   looking at that one particular word, it's very clear what  
21   Congress intended to criminalize. And they did not intend to  
22   criminalize lost profit as a result of peaceful demonstration  
23   or peaceful protest.

24           The second thing that I wanted to briefly touch on,  
25   as far as the rules of construction, is the defense's argument

1 that the term -- the word "use" -- property that is used by an  
2 animal enterprise, that that could include money.

3 Well, of course it could include money. Money is  
4 actually property. That is not an intangible that we're  
5 talking about. Money that an animal enterprise holds at a  
6 given moment is their property. If a cash register is filled  
7 with cash at an animal enterprise and that cash is stolen,  
8 it's property under any definition of "property," intangible  
9 or otherwise.

10 What we're focusing on -- and what the defense's  
11 argument is actually focusing on -- is this intangible lost  
12 profit, reputation. And what the defense didn't argue when  
13 they stood before your Honor is that an animal enterprise can  
14 in some way use their lost profit. Not the money that they  
15 have, but future lost profit or reputation.

16 Now, turning to the reasons why I think those  
17 arguments about the plain meaning of the word "property" and  
18 the rules of construction aren't necessarily as important in  
19 this case. And that's because Congress, looking at what it is  
20 that they were intending to criminalize, wanted to make it  
21 painfully clear what it was that was criminal under this  
22 statute; and, so, they did so.

23 They did it in two different ways. First, when they  
24 defined "economic damages" in the penalty provision, they  
25 expressly made exempt any financial damages that are the

1 result of a lawful boycott, lawful disruption of an animal  
2 enterprise. They made it as clear as they possibly could.  
3 The thing that the defense is worried is criminalized under  
4 this statute is expressly exempt.

5 If that couldn't be any more clear, they include an  
6 actual rule of construction that says peaceful protest and  
7 peaceful demonstration are expressly exempt from this statute.  
8 Two different places in the statute where they made it as  
9 clear as they possibly could. "Our intent -- " Congress's  
10 intent " -- is to make sure that animal rights activists are  
11 able to lawfully protest, to peacefully demonstrate, but that  
12 they are not permitted to use illegal action to damage an  
13 animal enterprise."

14 THE COURT: Ms. Biesenthal, the government did not  
15 rely on Blum vs. Holder, et al., in its submission. And the  
16 court specifically addressed the rules of the construction in  
17 there.

18 Especially given that there is no case law in this  
19 area other than that case and Buddenberg, why didn't you cite  
20 that or rely on it; and, what are you suggesting to the Court  
21 or what should the Court read from that?

22 MS. BIESENTHAL: The reason that the government  
23 didn't rely on it expressly in their submissions is because it  
24 was the government's position that that finding and the  
25 opinion was based primarily on a standing issue. Obviously,

1 the government --

2 THE COURT: And I do not disagree with that premise,  
3 but the Court did go on to talk about rules of construction  
4 and why there was not a real threat there to the individual  
5 Act.

6 MS. BIESENTHAL: The Court did go on to make those  
7 findings, and the government fully agrees with what the court  
8 stated in Blum vs. Holder. We just didn't rely on it because  
9 it was a standing issue. But we do agree exactly with what  
10 they've been saying that to -- what the court --

11 THE COURT: Okay.

12 MS. BIESENTHAL: -- relied on in that case for its  
13 reason in finding that there were sufficient safeguards to  
14 make sure that the government is not able to criminalize what  
15 would be First Amendment protected activity.

16 Judge, as far as, then, the limiting instruction, the  
17 instruction that says no First Amendment activity is  
18 criminalized under the statute, the defense, recognizing the  
19 problem with that -- that Congress did make it as clear as  
20 they possibly could that peaceful protest and peaceful  
21 demonstration are perfectly acceptable under the statute --  
22 have tried to argue that that savings clause can't save an  
23 otherwise invalid or unlawful statute.

24 But the statute itself is not invalid. It's not  
25 unlawful. And looking at just the plain meaning of it, it's



1   incredibly clear what it is that's criminal. And what's  
2   criminal is unlawful, illegal damage to an animal enterprise.

3           In their reply brief, the defense noted that the  
4   government's reliance on the fact that the FACE Act -- which  
5   is the abortion clinic entrance act -- their savings clause  
6   has been upheld, which is exactly identical to the savings  
7   clause in the AETA, in the statute before your Honor.

8           They tried to differentiate that by stating that that  
9   statute is different because the FACE statute only  
10   criminalizes, I believe they said, force, threats of force or  
11   physical disruption. But in looking at the statute, that  
12   isn't actually true. The third prong of the FACE statute  
13   covers exactly what we have in this case, which is to say  
14   intentionally damages or destroys the property of a facility,  
15   or attempts to do so, because such facility provides  
16   reproductive health services. It's almost the exact same  
17   language.

18           That statute criminalizes the intentional damage of  
19   property to a reproductive health services clinic. It then  
20   has a savings clause exactly identical to the one in this  
21   case, which has been upheld.

22           So, in sum, as far as the overbreadth argument goes,  
23   your Honor, again, I cannot repeat it enough that the statute  
24   has two different places where Congress has made as clear as  
25   humanly possible to anyone reading the statute that this does

1 not criminalize First Amendment protected activity, and that  
2 it does not criminalize peaceful protest. It does not  
3 criminalize peaceful demonstration.

4 And one last comment on that point. I think the  
5 defendant said several times that this statute is confusing.  
6 And in reading the statute and just reading it for what it is  
7 and just looking at the words that are on the page, it's not  
8 confusing. I think the only way that it becomes confusing is  
9 when you try to make it confusing.

10 THE COURT: Can the Court look to the rules of  
11 construction -- which clearly say it does not cover First  
12 Amendment.

13 But can the Court look to the rules of construction  
14 in construing the statute in the first instance, or does the  
15 Court first have to decide in construing the statute, separate  
16 and apart from the rules of construction, whether or not it is  
17 constitutional?

18 MS. BIESENTHAL: I think the Court can look at them  
19 in conjunction. I think it can look at it as a whole.

20 The case law is clear that the savings clause will  
21 not save an otherwise completely invalid statute. So, I think  
22 the Court does need to look and say whether or not the statute  
23 would be completely invalid without the savings clause.

24 But looking at the two things together, it's clear  
25 Congress's intent. So, it informs the Court's decision in

1 looking at this plain language of the statute. It can't be  
2 completely separated because it expresses Congress's intent,  
3 which is what your Honor is tasked with doing in looking at  
4 and interpreting what the statute is meant to criminalize.

5 THE COURT: What role should the legislative history  
6 have for the Court in construing the statute up front?

7 MS. BIESENTHAL: I think the legislative history  
8 should definitely play a part in your Honor's decision in  
9 looking at what the statute is meant to criminalize. The  
10 legislative history is important so that your Honor has an  
11 understanding as to what it is Congress wanted to do.

12 The legislative history in this case makes clear that  
13 what Congress was concerned about is an unlawful underground  
14 campaign against people who are lawfully working in this  
15 country. And that concern is then ameliorated by the language  
16 that's placed within the statute itself that makes it unlawful  
17 to damage intentionally -- using interstate commerce for the  
18 purpose of damaging intentionally one of those animal  
19 enterprises.

20 The important thing about the legislative history,  
21 though, is that it makes clear that Congress did not intend to  
22 criminalize peaceful protest or peaceful demonstration.

23 So, when your Honor is looking at the statute, your  
24 Honor absolutely should take into consideration everything  
25 your Honor knows about Congress's intent. The beauty of the

1 way that this statute is written, though, is that your Honor  
2 doesn't -- isn't left wondering. No one's left wondering as  
3 to what their intent was because of those two express  
4 provisions within the statute that expressly exempted any kind  
5 of First Amendment protected activity.

6 And if your Honor has no other questions on  
7 overbreadth --

8 THE COURT: I do not. You may turn to void for  
9 vagueness.

10 MS. BIESENTHAL: So, next moving to void for  
11 vagueness -- and I know your Honor had some questions about  
12 this.

13 THE COURT: I did because your -- there are two ways  
14 that a statute can be voided for vagueness. One is the notice  
15 requirement, and one is the enforcement -- the discriminatory  
16 enforcement.

17 Your response brief seemed to focus on the notice and  
18 not the discriminatory enforcement. So, that's what I would  
19 like you to address today.

20 MS. BIESENTHAL: And it did. And if I could give  
21 your Honor some just background on why it did.

22 I think the government's understanding of the defense  
23 argument in their opening brief is different than the  
24 government's understanding of their argument now.

25 The government's understanding from the opening brief

1 was that the defense was making a broader attack on the  
2 statute; that the defense was arguing that the statute was so  
3 vague that it implicated First Amendment concerns, sort of  
4 melding their vagueness argument with their overbreadth  
5 argument, which is why the government responded the way that  
6 it did and why the government did not challenge the  
7 defendants' standing to make the argument that they're making.

8 As I understand it today, based on their reply brief  
9 and their arguments to your Honor, their vagueness argument is  
10 now a very limited argument and they're only asserting that  
11 the definition of "animal enterprise" is overly broad.

12 In that case --

13 THE COURT: And leads to discriminatory enforcement.

14 MS. BIESENTHAL: And leads to discriminatory  
15 enforcement.

16 In that case, there's no First Amendment implication  
17 whatsoever to the defendants' argument. The fact that the  
18 "animal enterprise" definition may be overly broad and lead to  
19 discriminatory enforcement does not implicate the First  
20 Amendment. And, so, the defense actually has no standing to  
21 attack the statute facially for vagueness.

22 It's Black Letter Law, and I have cases for your  
23 Honor if your Honor wants to see them, that in order to attack  
24 facially a statute for void for vagueness, the argument must  
25 implicate First Amendment concerns. If it does not, the

1 defense is left with only an as-applied attack to the statute.

2 Here -- so, assuming that the defense argument is  
3 this limited piece, that it's only the definition of "animal  
4 enterprise" that's problematic from a vagueness standpoint,  
5 they are limited to an as-applied attack.

6 And here, there is absolutely no way that this  
7 statute is vague as applied to defendant Johnson and defendant  
8 Lang's conduct. Your Honor is familiar with the facts of the  
9 case --

10 THE COURT: And I think they said it is only a facial  
11 challenge that they are pursuing. On rebuttal, she can  
12 confirm that. But they are not arguing as applied on this --  
13 on void for vagueness.

14 MS. BIESENTHAL: It's the government's position that  
15 they're only permitted to argue as applied, though.

16 THE COURT: I understand.

17 MS. BIESENTHAL: So --

18 THE COURT: But I do not think they are arguing that.  
19 But go ahead. Go ahead.

20 MS. BIESENTHAL: I just want to make sure I'm not  
21 waiving any argument for the record, Judge. That it's our  
22 position that at this point, if they're only arguing animal  
23 enterprise, they are not arguing First Amendment has been  
24 implicated; and, they are left with only an as-applied attack,  
25 which they lose because the statute is incredibly clear that

1 animal enterprise includes both a breeder and a furrier, which  
2 is exactly what the defendants have been charged with.

3 Now, giving the defense the benefit of the doubt and  
4 assuming that they are arguing that First Amendment concerns  
5 are implicated and they do have standing to facially attack  
6 the statute as being vague, they still lose. And the reason  
7 is, is because the statute is clear and gives no discretion to  
8 law enforcement as to what is actually criminal.

9 The government concedes that the definition of  
10 "animal enterprise" is broad and it includes a lot of  
11 different things. But it does not give law enforcement the  
12 discretion to decide what is or is not criminal under the  
13 statute. That part of the statute is clear.

14 Yes, it criminalizes potentially a lot of different  
15 conduct that ordinarily, historically would be something  
16 that's left to the state to punish. But that doesn't  
17 invalidate the statute, and it doesn't give law enforcement  
18 the type of discretion as contemplated by these other cases  
19 that the defense has cited where the statute is actually void  
20 for vagueness because of the ability of law enforcement to use  
21 too much discretion.

22 In those cases, what's clear is that law enforcement  
23 is given too much discretion to decide what is criminal. So,  
24 the examples that the defendant has cited: What is vagrant?  
25 What kind of conduct ends up being vagrant? What kind of

1 conduct is annoying? What kind of conduct is oppressive? We  
2 don't have those kinds of words in this statute that gives law  
3 enforcement any type of discretion to determine what is  
4 violated by the statute.

5 To use the defense's example from their reply brief,  
6 if someone throws a rock through a window at a Whole Foods,  
7 they're guilty of a crime. If they used interstate commerce  
8 for the purpose of throwing the rock through the window at the  
9 Whole Foods, they could be guilty under this particular  
10 statute. The government's not arguing that they couldn't.

11 But there's no discretion there. Law enforcement  
12 sees someone throw a rock through the window at the Whole  
13 Foods, there's no discretion to determine whether that's a  
14 crime. It is. It's clear it's a crime.

15 The issue becomes that there is some discretion,  
16 then, as to whether the federal government ends up charging  
17 the case or it's a state case. But that's a different issue.  
18 That's not the vagueness doctrine, and it's not the examples  
19 that have been cited by the defense where there's this  
20 question left to law enforcement that it's up to them to  
21 decide whether a crime has actually occurred.

22 Here, no discretion; crime has occurred. The  
23 question then is whether the federal government's going to  
24 take it or the state's going to take it, which is something  
25 that doesn't invalidate a statute. And it's clear that that



1 kind of discretion does not invalidate a statute, just in  
2 looking at the drug crimes or, another example, with mail and  
3 wire fraud.

4 Mail and wire fraud statutes criminalize what could  
5 be breach of contract cases and state cases all the time.  
6 There have been vagueness challenges to the mail and wire  
7 fraud statutes for the exact reasons that the defense is  
8 positing. One of them is in United States vs. Hausmann, which  
9 I'll provide to your Honor.

10 In that case, the defendants argued that the mail and  
11 wire fraud statutes were unconstitutionally vague for this  
12 exact reason -- that they criminalized what could be breach of  
13 contract cases or state cases. And in that case, the Seventh  
14 Circuit was very clear that Congress has the authority to  
15 regulate the use of interstate mailings and interstate wires  
16 to criminalize conduct.

17 THE COURT: Do you want to put the cite for that on  
18 the record, if you have it?

19 MS. BIESENTHAL: 345 F.3d 952.

20 And the court in that case stated, "Without some  
21 showing that either the statute in question or the prosecution  
22 of this case contravenes some specific rule of constitutional  
23 statutory law, the mere fact that the conduct in question is  
24 of a sort traditionally dealt with through state law cannot  
25 serve as a basis for dismissing the indictment.

1           So, in sum, Judge, what we have here is a case where,  
2           again, it's our position that the defense does not have  
3           standing to facially attack this statute. They only have an  
4           as-applied challenge, which they lose. But assuming that they  
5           are able to facially attack this statute, what we have here is  
6           not a vague statute that allows law enforcement discretion to  
7           decide whether something is a crime. Instead, we have a clear  
8           statute that does criminalize a broad range of conduct, but  
9           then it's left to the discretion of the prosecution to decide  
10          whether it's charged federally or state, which is a completely  
11          separate issue than vagueness.

12           THE COURT: Ms. Biesenthal, do you want to put on the  
13          record the case names and cites for your first proposition,  
14          that they do not have standing to facially attack the statute  
15          if it does not raise a First Amendment concern?

16           MS. BIESENTHAL: I will. That's U.S. vs. Stephenson,  
17          557 F.3d 449, and Chapman vs. United States, 500 U.S. 453.

18           And, Judge, I wanted to just respond, before I move  
19          on to the due process argument -- unless your Honor --

20           THE COURT: No.

21           MS. BIESENTHAL: -- has more questions about  
22          vagueness, I did want to respond to something that the defense  
23          said as far as the vagueness goes and as far as the  
24          discriminatory enforcement of the statute.

25           The defense stated that the government is using this

1 statute against the unpopular group of animal rights  
2 activists. And as I stated in my overbreadth argument, I will  
3 state, again: That's not how the government is using this.  
4 It's not meant to criminalize the lawful activity of animal  
5 rights groups activists. What it is meant to do is  
6 criminalize the illegal damage to animal enterprises. It's  
7 intended to criminalize crime, not lawful protest and not  
8 lawful activism.

9 Now, as far as the terrorism argument, the due  
10 process argument -- and, again, here I know I don't need to  
11 keep saying it, but this is an almost insurmountable battle,  
12 as well, for the defense in having a statute overturned for  
13 violating substantive due process, especially for something  
14 like this.

15 Here, it's the government's primary argument that  
16 there is no liberty interest at stake whatsoever because the  
17 defendants are not labeled as anything. Defense, during her  
18 argument, repeatedly stated that Congress named the statute  
19 "Animal Enterprise Terrorism." Congress didn't name the  
20 statute anything. This statute is referred to as the Animal  
21 Enterprise Terrorism Act. It's not codified as a terrorism  
22 Act. It's not one of the Acts that is under terrorism  
23 statutes. It doesn't even have a terrorism sentencing  
24 enhancement applied to it.

25 So, the defense -- the defendants, in being charged

1 under a statute, are not labeled as anything. They have no  
2 title at all.

3 Now, moving on to the defendants' arguments, then,  
4 about the possible liberty interests that would be at stake if  
5 your Honor does find that the defendants are in some way  
6 labeled as something, the defense has argued primarily that  
7 the issues at stake for them are the social stigma, the issue  
8 of juror pool outside of the courtroom, the issue of possible  
9 disclosure of this offense as a terrorist act to the public  
10 and the press and the Bureau of Prisons.

11 I'll start with the first chunk of arguments first  
12 because I think that those are easily disposed of, because the  
13 government has not ever referred to either defendant as a  
14 terrorist and never will. There is no social stigma attached  
15 to what the defendants have been charged with from the  
16 government's perspective. And it's -- frankly, the defense  
17 loses credibility in arguing that there's a social stigma  
18 issue and that there's a problem with the press labelling the  
19 defendants as terrorists or their friends or the potential  
20 jury pool when they are the only ones who have ever called the  
21 defendants terrorists.

22 They are the only ones who have spoken to the press  
23 about what the defendants have been labeled as purportedly.  
24 They are the only ones who have issued press releases on their  
25 own Web sites about what the defendants have been labeled as.

1           THE COURT: Was there a press release from law  
2 enforcement? I thought there was some suggestion that there  
3 was a press release when this case was originally indicted  
4 referring to --

5           MS. BIESENTHAL: I don't believe -- I'm sorry, Judge.

6           THE COURT: -- referring to the Act as the Animal  
7 Enterprise Terrorism Act.

8           MS. BIESENTHAL: I don't believe that the press  
9 release had to do with this case. I might be wrong.

10          THE COURT: Okay.

11          MS. BIESENTHAL: I'm sure I'll be corrected if I'm  
12 wrong.

13                I don't believe that the press release was for this  
14 case. I believe it was for another case.

15                When your Honor mentioned that you would grant a  
16 motion to exclude any reference to the term "terrorism" that  
17 was presented by the defense, the government will be moving in  
18 limine to prevent any reference to the word "terrorism" at  
19 trial. And, so, I think we are all in agreement that no one  
20 is calling the defendants terrorists.

21                The reason no one is calling the defendants  
22 terrorists is because, from the government's perspective, it's  
23 completely irrelevant. We have no need to establish that the  
24 defendants are terrorists in order to establish our case. And  
25 we have never told the press that they are terrorists, and we

1 do not plan on doing so.

2 So, there's no social stigma, from the government's  
3 perspective or from anything that the government has done.

4 As far as the Bureau of Prisons, the defense is  
5 correct, that because this statute is known as "Animal  
6 Enterprise Terrorist Act," for a BOP designation, the case  
7 will be seen by a counter-terrorism unit employee in  
8 determining designation. But that's all it is. There's no  
9 practical effect to the fact that that case is being referred  
10 to a counter-terrorism unit employee other than that employee  
11 looks at the facts of the cases, like they do with every  
12 single case that comes before them, in order to determine  
13 whether and where someone should be designated.

14 So, the fact that, say, one of the defendants in this  
15 case is ultimately convicted and that is then sent to the  
16 counter-terrorism unit, they will look at the background of  
17 the defendant; they will look at the facts of the case; and,  
18 they will look at the behavior of the defendant for the time  
19 -- in Mr. Johnson's respect, at least, that he's had time  
20 incarcerated prior to, assuming there's a conviction -- look  
21 at that time and determine, those things as a whole, what unit  
22 that particular prisoner should be placed in.

23 THE COURT: And is that triggered solely by what the  
24 statute is referred to as?

25 MS. BIESENTHAL: In this case, it is. That's my

1 understanding, that it is. That if there is a conviction  
2 under this statute, it will be referred to the  
3 counter-terrorism unit.

4 THE COURT: You submitted, in your response brief,  
5 some statements of individuals from BOP and summarized those.  
6 Can the Court rely on that at this stage without hearing  
7 evidence on it?

8 MS. BIESENTHAL: I think that the government can rely  
9 on -- or the Court can rely on a government proffer and take  
10 that for the weight that the Court wants to give it.

11 In our brief, we did say that we would be more than  
12 happy to make that individual available. That offer still  
13 stands if the Court is inclined to grant the defense motion on  
14 this issue. We absolutely will bring him before your Honor.  
15 And we can do that as quickly as possible.

16 Your Honor, the last thing is as far as whether this  
17 is rationally related to -- whether Congress has a rational  
18 interest in actually criminalizing this as terrorism. So, now  
19 we're assuming that the defendants are labeled as something,  
20 and then we're assuming that there is some kind of liberty  
21 interest attached to that label.

22 Up until this point, the government has not set forth  
23 a significant amount of information about why it is that it's  
24 the government's belief that the Congress did have a rational  
25 interest in actually criminalizing this conduct as terrorism.

1           The reason that the government has not proffered a  
2     significant amount of information on that point is because up  
3     until now, the defense has objected specifically to an amicus  
4     brief being filed that argued that position. And they argued  
5     it would be prejudicial to the defendants moving forward in  
6     the case for the government, or anyone else for that matter,  
7     to proffer a lot of information about the animal rights  
8     extremist campaign and some of the reasons that this was  
9     brought to Congress as a "terrorist act," if your Honor  
10    believes that that's what it's been labeled.

11           If your Honor is inclined to grant the defendants'  
12    motion in that respect, the government certainly is ready now  
13    to argue why it is rationally related -- or why Congress has a  
14    rational interest, rather, in criminalizing this as terror.

15           THE COURT: I am not giving an inclination one way or  
16    the other, but for the record, why don't you make your  
17    "rationally related" argument.

18           MS. BIESENTHAL: Judge, first of all, the defense has  
19    argued repeatedly that in order for something to be considered  
20    terrorism, it has to be a violent act. In support of their  
21    argument that an act of terrorism has to be a violent act,  
22    they have cited definitions of international terrorism. These  
23    acts, obviously, are not acts of international terrorism.  
24    Instead, they have been designated by the FBI as acts of  
25    domestic terrorism.



1           The definition of "domestic terrorism," which is  
2 under title 18 U.S.C., Section 2331, states, "Involving acts  
3 dangerous to human life that violate federal or state law and  
4 appear intended to intimidate or coerce a civilian  
5 population," which is a very different definition than one  
6 that involves only violent acts. Acts that are dangerous to  
7 human life involve a significant amount more than truly  
8 violent at their core acts.

9           In any event, there are acts that are codified under  
10 the terrorism statutes that don't involve actual violent acts.  
11 Those include crimes relating to computer attacks and  
12 government contracts, which is 18 U.S.C., Section  
13 2332b(g) (5) (B) .

14           Now, in any event, even setting aside the definitions  
15 and the government's dispute with the defense definition of  
16 what terrorism is and what something needs to be in order to  
17 be terrorism, the defense is arguing to your Honor, and in  
18 their briefs has argued to your Honor, the conduct of the  
19 defendants in a vacuum.

20           What they've argued is only this one release of mink,  
21 and that the three times that this case -- that this statute  
22 has been charged, that it's involved release of animals and  
23 that those are not violent acts.

24           First of all, just looking at those acts  
25 themselves -- trespassing onto an individual's property in the

1 middle of the night, committing damage upon their property,  
2 and releasing all of the animals that they have purchased and  
3 that they are breeding -- involves an act that's dangerous to  
4 human life.

5           Trespassing in the middle of the night in order to  
6 instill fear and to attempt to get a lawful, law-abiding  
7 citizen to stop doing what they're doing not lawfully, not  
8 through lawful protests, but through instilling fear and  
9 strong-arming is terror.

10           Setting that aside, the animal rights extremist  
11 campaign -- and I want to be very clear that I am not talking  
12 about animal rights activists. I am not talking about lawful  
13 protests. I am talking about the underground campaign that  
14 was referred to by the FBI in asking Congress to enact this  
15 statute. That campaign involves a lot more than just  
16 releasing mink. And the defense has said that that didn't  
17 involve any acts that have ever actually physically harmed a  
18 particular individual.

19           I ask your Honor in deciding this case, in deciding  
20 this issue, to look at the government's submission in moving  
21 to detain Kevin Johnson. Setting aside all the information  
22 that the government has about things that have been done by  
23 the animal rights extremist movement leading up to the  
24 enactment of this particular statute, just look at what the  
25 government has proffered has been done by Kevin Johnson in

1 support of his unlawful campaign.

2           There has been stalking. There has been property  
3 damage. There has been storming a bank where people are  
4 working. There has been hanging out outside of people's homes  
5 screaming they're going to burn their homes down and telling  
6 them that they know who their children are. Those acts are  
7 rationally related to an interest in criminalizing that  
8 campaign as one of terror.

9           Now, the government also has cited to your Honor the  
10 examples that were made by the FBI Director to Congress, which  
11 includes arson, which includes the use of explosive devices,  
12 which includes stalking, which includes the collection of  
13 personal information about law-abiding citizens and their  
14 children. The government and Congress had a rational interest  
15 in defining these particular crimes as terror.

16           So, even if your Honor finds that the defendants have  
17 been labeled as something -- which they haven't -- and even if  
18 your Honor finds that there's a liberty interest at stake  
19 based on that label -- which there isn't -- there was a  
20 rational interest in actually criminalizing that conduct as  
21 terror.

22           And if your Honor has no further questions --

23           THE COURT: I do not believe I do. Just give me one  
24 second, please.

25           (Brief pause.)

1 THE COURT: I do not. Thank you.

2 MS. BIESENTHAL: Thank you, Judge.

3 THE COURT: Rebuttal?

4 MS. MEEROPOL: Thank you, your Honor.

5 A few points to go over. First, the government has  
6 argued that (a)(2)(A) should be interpreted not to apply to  
7 lost profits that result from First Amendment protected  
8 activity. It's a combination of both aspects in terms of  
9 their interpretation of (a)(2)(A).

10 So, it's still not clear to me whether the government  
11 interprets (a)(2)(A) to limit liability based on causing loss  
12 to intangible property or only limit liability arising from  
13 First Amendment protected activity that causes loss to  
14 intangible property.

15 And that's a major problem in the interpretation of  
16 the statute, because individuals not before the Court must  
17 have notice of what is illegal under the operative provision  
18 of the statute.

19 Now, the government argued that money is tangible  
20 property, and that we are concerned only with loss of profits  
21 or business reputation. But that's not entirely the case,  
22 your Honor. Because increased security costs are also aspects  
23 that could frequently arise from First Amendment protected  
24 activity. There's a protest outside an animal enterprise and  
25 the enterprise hires an extra security guard, that causes the

1 loss of in-the-pocket, currently-owned money which arises from  
2 First Amendment protected activity.

3 And relevant to that point, in a prior prosecution  
4 under the Animal Enterprise Protection Act, which includes  
5 similar language about causing the loss of property, the  
6 government included as such loss -- and we cited this in a  
7 footnote of our opening brief -- causing employees to waste  
8 their time; causing a business to purchase new computer  
9 software, to -- additional firewalls and the like.

10 So, there is a history of interpreting this provision  
11 to apply to intangible losses.

12 Now, in that case, the court found that the speech  
13 that gave rise to those intangible losses wasn't protected  
14 speech. But it was still speech that caused the loss of  
15 intangible property. And that's the history of the  
16 enforcement of the statute.

17 The government argued, with respect to economic  
18 damage, that economic damage -- that certain types of economic  
19 damage -- have specifically been excluded from giving rise to  
20 AETA liability. And that is not the case, your Honor. What  
21 is excluded are certain economic damages cannot give rise to  
22 an increased penalty under the Animal Enterprise Terrorism  
23 Act. But that says nothing as to whether those types of  
24 economic damages can give rise to a substantive violation of  
25 the statute.

1           And there I do want to emphasize one statement from  
2 the court -- the government's opening -- the government's  
3 opposition brief.

4           On Page 9, they cited United States v. Buddenberg for  
5 the proposition that economic damage standing alone cannot  
6 give rise to an AETA violation, and the court did not hold  
7 that in Buddenberg. The court held that economic damage  
8 standing alone cannot give rise to a violation under a  
9 (a) (2) (B) of the statute because (a) (2) (B) requires a threat.  
10 The Buddenberg court did not consider whether (a) (2) (A)  
11 liability exists for causing economic damage.

12           In Blum -- your Honor asked the government about  
13 Blum. And I think it's important there to emphasize that the  
14 First Circuit did not interpret (a) (2) (A)'s reach. They  
15 explicitly considered the district court's finding that the  
16 parenthetical limited the broad term "any personal property."  
17 They considered the government's argument in that case that  
18 used -- limited the proper interpretation of "any personal  
19 property."

20           And they decided they didn't have to decide what  
21 (a) (2) (A) covers because of the savings clause. And that's  
22 simply not the proper approach in a merits overbreadth  
23 analysis where it is a hundred percent clear that the proper  
24 first step is to interpret the reach of the statute.

25           The government also directed the Court's attention to

1 the FACE statute. And I would direct the Court to the  
2 "Definitions" section of the FACE statute. I, unfortunately,  
3 don't have it in front of me, but my recollection is that the  
4 definitions limit the way in which that statute could be used  
5 in a way that is substantially more protective, and that the  
6 definitions are what limit the statute's application to  
7 protected speech and advocacy, unlike a savings clause in this  
8 case.

9           Moving on to the vagueness argument, your Honor, it  
10 is correct that we do not make an as-applied vagueness  
11 challenge here. But criminal defendants are allowed to make  
12 vagueness facial challenges whether or not the statute  
13 implicates First Amendment rights. The requirement is simply  
14 that in that situation, the statute is also vague as applied  
15 to them.

16           So, there's not a technical requirement that a  
17 criminal defendant can only make an as-applied vagueness  
18 challenge. It's rather that when the Court is considering  
19 that vagueness challenge -- the facial vagueness challenge --  
20 the Court must also consider how the statute functions with  
21 that defendant as an example.

22           Because vagueness -- facial challenges in the First  
23 Amendment context provide for relaxation of standing rules.  
24 Right? The First Amendment interest is the reason that an  
25 individual innovating this challenge can challenge a statute

1 even if it's not infringing on his or her own First Amendment  
2 rights. Without that standing relaxation, a defendant can  
3 only bring a facial challenge if the statute is actually vague  
4 as applied to them, as well; and, this statute is.

5 And that's because we're not arguing about notice to  
6 the individual defendant. We're arguing about inviting  
7 discriminatory and arbitrary enforcement. And this is exactly  
8 an example of the type of arbitrary and discriminatory  
9 enforcement allowed under the statute.

10 THE COURT: And you are saying that it is your  
11 position that you can still challenge a statute as void for  
12 vagueness in a facial challenge, whether or not First  
13 Amendment implications arise?

14 MS. MEEROPOL: That's right, your Honor. And  
15 Papachristou is an example of that. That wasn't a First  
16 Amendment challenge at all.

17 And the cases that the government cites to, I've only  
18 been able to read them quickly, but they don't stand for the  
19 proposition that a facial challenge is not proper. They stand  
20 for the proposition that the statute must also be measured  
21 with respect to the defendants' conduct and the Court must use  
22 the example before it when considering the challenge.

23 Turning to the substantive due process claim --

24 THE COURT: Before you turn, do you agree then that  
25 your facial challenge on the void for vagueness does not



1 implicate First Amendment concerns?

2 MS. MEEROPOL: No, your Honor. If the Court agrees  
3 with our interpretation of the statute with the overbreadth  
4 argument, then we are in a situation where the statute does  
5 implicate First Amendment rights and --

6 THE COURT: But that is for the overbreadth. You  
7 made a different argument for the void for vagueness. So, I  
8 think you are mixing the two arguments. Your void for  
9 vagueness was focused more on the animal enterprise aspect of  
10 it rather than it implicating legitimate First Amendment  
11 concerns, as is your overbroad basis.

12 MS. MEEROPOL: Well, it's both, your Honor. You  
13 know, it is the breadth of the term "animal enterprise" that  
14 is important here, but that's not the only part of it. I  
15 believe I said this earlier, that it's also the lack of an  
16 actus reus that makes this statute so broad. And that is  
17 completely connected to the First Amendment overbreadth  
18 argument that because the criminal conduct isn't specified, it  
19 need not necessarily be conduct; it could just as easily be  
20 speech.

21 And for that reason, if the Court agrees with the  
22 overbreadth claim, then we are in a situation where there's a  
23 relaxed standing.

24 But I actually think at the end of the day, it  
25 doesn't make that much of a difference because our vagueness

1 argument is the same in either regard. It's that the statute  
2 invites arbitrary and discriminatory enforcement. And if  
3 that's the case, then there's no reason why that also wouldn't  
4 follow with respect to this individual prosecution.

5 This is a statute where, you know, it's not about  
6 choosing whether there's going to be a federal or state  
7 prosecution necessarily. There already was a state  
8 prosecution in this case.

9 The government talks about, you know, the difference  
10 in vagueness terms about whether a statute -- it's vague  
11 whether the conduct is actually criminalized versus a charging  
12 decision. But, of course, the vagueness here comes from  
13 whether the conduct is a federal criminal violation on top of  
14 being a state criminal violation.

15 Turning now to --

16 THE COURT: So, is that what you are arguing, that it  
17 makes it void for vagueness because it criminalizes state  
18 crimes -- it federalizes state crimes? Is that what your  
19 argument is?

20 MS. MEEROPOL: Well, because it federalizes such a  
21 broad swath of state crimes. You could imagine a statute that  
22 is much more narrowly targeted at animal enterprise extremism.  
23 The government -- and this moves a little bit into the  
24 substantive due process claim, but the government talked about  
25 some specific examples. And we're not arguing that Congress

1 wouldn't have a legitimate interest in crafting a statute that  
2 addresses that type of extreme behavior. This simply is not  
3 that statute. This is an incredibly broad statute.

4 THE COURT: Do you have any cases to support your  
5 argument that a statute can be void for vagueness because it  
6 over-federalizes crimes, which is what I am hearing you say?

7 MS. MEEROPOL: No, your Honor, I haven't been able to  
8 find a particular -- a specific case on point. The ACCA, the  
9 Armed Career Criminal -- I can't remember what the last "A"  
10 stands for, but it's currently up before the Supreme Court.

11 THE COURT: Act.

12 MS. MEEROPOL: Yes. That makes sense.

13 We cited it in our briefing. And it's possible this  
14 is actually going to be an issue that the Supreme Court takes  
15 up. We'll have to wait and see what happens with that.

16 But --

17 THE COURT: And I am not sure if that is the -- maybe  
18 you are involved in this one, too, but I am not sure if that  
19 is the -- precise issue that is framed before the Supreme  
20 Court.

21 MS. MEEROPOL: No.

22 THE COURT: I think it is a little bit different.

23 MS. MEEROPOL: I think that's right, your Honor. But  
24 what makes that analysis relevant is that -- and I'm not  
25 involved in this case; so, I have no personal understanding,

1 except what I've read in Supreme Court papers -- but that the  
2 definition of what a qualifying offense could be because of  
3 the examples that are given are so broad that it could  
4 basically apply to almost any federal offense, and that that  
5 creates a vagueness problem.

6           So, what I think is somewhat analogous there,  
7 although we don't really know if it's analogous until the  
8 Supreme Court issues their decision, is just breadth creating  
9 vagueness, which is a lesser-developed arm of the vagueness  
10 doctrine.

11           But in reading Papachristou carefully, you know,  
12 while I will certainly acknowledge that that statute includes  
13 incredibly archaic and vague terms, that really wasn't the  
14 heart of the Supreme Court's analysis there. It was about the  
15 fact that it casts such a wide net and, thus, allows so much  
16 discretion.

17           Now, moving on to some of the substantive due process  
18 points, first of all, in terms of the stigma of being labeled  
19 a terrorist, the government in the past, in past Animal  
20 Enterprise Terrorism Act prosecutions, has issued press  
21 releases; has commented on Joint Terrorism Task Force  
22 involvement; has referred to the individuals in press releases  
23 as terrorizing the public.

24           So, while they have disavowed the intent to do so in  
25 this case, it doesn't mean that that doesn't happen. And we

1 provided examples of the way the press is likely to report  
2 this, as well. Not simply in situations where defendants  
3 themselves issue, or defendants' organizations issue, press  
4 releases, but where the press independently reports on the  
5 nature of the conviction.

6           The government is correct that the statute is not  
7 titled, "Animal Enterprise Terrorism." Rather the Act is  
8 codified as being referred to as animal enterprise terrorism.  
9 And the preamble of the Act refers to it providing the  
10 Department of Justice with the means necessary to fight animal  
11 enterprise terrorism. So, while the title of the statute  
12 doesn't exactly include the terms, it is not the case that  
13 those terms don't exist with respect to the actual language of  
14 the statute.

15           The government acknowledged that an individual  
16 convicted under animal enterprise -- of animal enterprise  
17 terrorism will be considered by the counter-terrorism unit of  
18 the Bureau of Prisons just as would anyone else who comes  
19 across their desk. And that's really the operative term  
20 there. Because not everyone in the Bureau of Prisons comes  
21 across the desk of the counter-terrorism unit.

22           And to the extent that there is any question that the  
23 stigma of just the word "terrorism" would give rise to a  
24 non-fundamental liberty interest, I think that admission  
25 answers that question. This is a real impact -- that this

1 individual will be considered by a counter-terrorism unit  
2 specialist within the Bureau of Prisons.

3           The government argued that we have claimed that  
4 terrorism is just an act of violence. And that is not the  
5 case, your Honor. We were explicit in our brief that the  
6 consensus about what terrorism is or isn't is an act of  
7 violence or a threat of violence or an act that is dangerous  
8 to human life. We acknowledge that that "dangerous to human  
9 life" is a different component; that it's in many terrorism  
10 definitions; and, it's simply that property crime -- causing  
11 the loss of property -- does not require an act that is  
12 dangerous to human life.

13           The government says that throwing a rock through the  
14 window of Whole Foods is an act of terrorism, that trespass is  
15 an act of terrorism because all of that is dangerous to human  
16 life. And that makes the word "terrorism" completely  
17 meaningless.

18           And, then, I would refer the Court to the People v.  
19 Morales case, which, you know, isn't on point for any sort of  
20 particular legal issues -- we cited it at the very end of our  
21 opening brief -- but does discuss the importance of not  
22 misusing a word like "terrorism," that has a particular  
23 meaning, to apply to a broad swath of activity where the label  
24 simply doesn't follow.

25           Unless your Honor has any other questions?

1           THE COURT: You were going to look for -- and I know  
2 you only had a short amount of time and you were listening, as  
3 well, but you were going to look and see if you had any cases  
4 to support savings clauses that were similar to the one used  
5 here.

6           Were you able to do that? If not, I will give you  
7 time and you can --

8           MS. MEEROPOL: Yeah. No, your Honor. I would be  
9 happy to submit additional briefing on that issue if the Court  
10 would find it helpful. But I think Humanitarian Law Project  
11 is a good case to exemplify the way a similar First Amendment  
12 savings clause is used by the courts.

13           The Supreme Court didn't explicitly hold one way or  
14 the other exactly how the savings clause should operate there.  
15 But if you look at the court's analysis, it is crystal clear  
16 that they first analyzed the substantive provisions and that  
17 that is what must be done.

18           And that's all we're asking this Court to do -- to  
19 first analyze the substantive provision.

20           THE COURT: Okay.

21           Let me just make sure. I do not think I have any  
22 additional questions.

23           I do not. Thank you.

24           MS. MEEROPOL: Thank you, your Honor.

25           THE COURT: I do not want further briefing from

1 anybody unless I ask for it. So, please, either side, do not  
2 submit any additional briefing.

3 Thank you.

4 MS. MEEROPOL: Thank you, your Honor.

5 THE COURT: So, I am going to take this under  
6 advisement and will certainly issue a written opinion on it.

7 Why don't you come back here -- does March 24th at  
8 9:00 a.m. work for you?

9 MS. BIESENTHAL: That's fine.

10 THE COURT: Is that okay for the defense? Mr. Meyer,  
11 Mr. Deutsch?

12 MR. MEYER: It is, Judge.

13 THE COURT: Mr. Deutsch, does that work? March 24th.

14 MR. DEUTSCH: Yes, that's fine.

15 THE COURT: Okay.

16 March 24th at 9:00 a.m., we will have another status  
17 in the case. And it is my intention to rule on the motion to  
18 dismiss before then.

19 Is there any objection to excluding time in the  
20 interest of justice, given the pending pretrial motions?

21 MR. DEUTSCH: No objection for Mr. Johnson.

22 MR. MEYER: No objection for Mr. Lang, Judge.

23 THE COURT: Is there anything else for the Court this  
24 morning?

25 MS. BIESENTHAL: Nothing from the government, Judge.



1 THE COURT: Thank you.

2 MR. MEYER: Thank you.

3 THE COURT: I will see you in March.

4 \* \* \* \* \*

5

6 I certify that the foregoing is a correct transcript from the  
7 record of proceedings in the above-entitled matter.

8

9 /s/ Joseph Rickhoff  
Official Court Reporter

December 16, 2015

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